Plain Dealing

IS A

JEWEL,

AND

HONESTY

THE BEST

POLICY.

Both ſet forth

In an Anſwer to a Letter received by a Gentleman in *London*, from his Friend in the Country,

Wherein is plainly demonſtrated, the Grounds and Reaſons of our preſent Diſtractions.

And Methods propoſed for preventing the ſame for the Future.

By a Lover of Truth, and a hearty well-wiſher to the Proſperity of the King, and his Three Kingdoms.

LONDON,

Printed for the Author, 1682.

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SInce the Arguments I have uſed for obtaining your excuſe, have been ſo far from prevailing, that on the contrary, you are pleaſed by your laſt, poſitively to Command my ſentiments of the Preſent Conjuncture of Affairs and Thoughts concerning thoſe ſcandalous reports induſtruouſly ſpread throughout the Kingdom of His Majeſties, having had (for many years paſt) a deſign carrying on (and which is ſtill kept on foot) for the Introducing Arbitrary Power, ſetting up Popery, Invading Liberty and Property, and extirpating (if poſſible) the Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſht by Law.

I ſhall with ſincerity account to you my oJudgment,and offer ſuch Reaſons as I hope will convince all ſober and unbyaſſed Readers, to be of opinion, that theſe reports are as falſe as malitious, having nothing of truth in them, but occaſioned as followeth.

There are a ſort of Malecontents amongſt us, moſt of them men of mean Fortunes, turbulent and reſtleſs Spirits, who deſign Troubles and Commotions in the Kingdome (in hopes thereby to gain advantage to themſelves by the miſeries and ſufferings of others.

Theſe make it their whole buſineſs to create in the minds of the Kings Subjects, Fear and Jealouſies of His Majeſties deſigning to Govern Arbitrarily, Introduce Popery, Extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and Invade Property by ſetting up Abbyes and Monaſteries,and reſtoring to them their Anciant Lands and Revenues, now diſperſt into the hands of moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom.

In proceſs of time, by theſe (and ſuch like) evil Practices, the Ignorant and unthinking mens minds (whoſe Capacities will neither give them leave to examine whether theſe Reports be true or falſe, reaſonable or unreaſonable to be believed; poſſible or impoſſible to be accompliſhed) are become greatly diſturbed, and ſuch jealouſies are riſen in them concerning the King, as hath abated the fervency of their former affection to his Royal Perſon, and their Zeal for his Service and Government, occaſioned ſuch Diviſions, Animoſities and Contentions between Subject and Subject, put their Spirits upon ſuch firmentations, divided and ſubdivided them into ſo many ſeveral Parties, Factions and Intereſts, (each Diamatrical oppoſite to the other) that unleſs Almighty God in his Infinite mercy, goodneſs and wiſdom, pleaſe to direct a ſpeedy way for the Uniting them in Love together: I fear the conſequence may in a ſhort time prove pernicious (if not fatal) both to King and People, which it is dreadful to conſider, ſhould be

the Effect and Conſequence of ſome mens Credulity on the one hand, and others Impudent falſity on the other.

Pardon me Sir, I beſeech you, if I happen to differ from you in Opinion, when I poſſitively affirm, that by all my own obſervations, and the Scrutiny I have made by inquiring of and converſing with others; I never yet found the leaſt ground to believe His Majeſty had ever really any deſign (as is falſly ſuggeſted) to ſet up Arbitrary Power, or Introduce Popery, nor is there any ſhadow or coulor for the Fears and Jealouſies of this Nature, with which mens minds are ſo ſtrangly poſſeſt.

If His Majeſty had ever deſigned ſo to Govern, ſure it would have been ſhown at his firſt Return into *England*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Royal Crown and Government: for having lived moſt part of the time of his horrid Sufferings, under an Illegal and Unjuſt Baniſhment, in thoſe Countries where the Government was abſolute or neareſt to abſolute, (their Laws being Enervated and depreſt by their Princes) it might have been reaſonably expected he would then have brought over (conſidering how barbarouſly his Royal Father had been murdered, and himſelf, and the whole Royal Family been dealt with in their Exile) a Scheme of ſuch Government with him, the which if he had done, no Prince in Chriſtendome ever had ſuch an opportunity to have accompliſht the ſame, as our King then had.

Was he not upon his return to his Kingdoms, abſolute Lord and Maſter of all his Subjects Lives and Eſtates by the Law of the Land, occaſioned by their own forfeiture, either by open Actings, or ſilent acquieſſing under the late Rebellion, Services done for, or Taxes paid to the late Uſerpors; whereby they were all guilty of high Treaſon, and ſtood in need of His Majeſties Royal Pardon.

Might not His Majeſty after his Reſtauration (when all his Subjects either adored or feared him) being brought in with the Hearts and moſt Zealous Affections of his People; have had at that time any thing from his Parliament, that he could have demanded.

If therefore he had then had a Deſign ever to Govern Arbitrarily, there never was ſuch an opportunity for accompliſhing thereof, as when he firſt came over; when he could not have askt that Sum of Mony for his preſent ſupply, or annual Revenue for the future Support of his Royal Prerogative, and ſuch his intended Government, but it would have been granted by his Friends in hopes of Reward, and durſt not have been oppoſed by his Enemies (tho never ſo unreaſonoble) for fear of being called to account for their Treaſons, no Act of Oblivion being then paſt, of which the meaneſt Subject ſtood in need, and could not have been long ſafe without.

So that if His Majeſty had any Intention ever (tho not at that time) to ſet up for Arbitrary Government, he loſt it for want of asking, for His Majeſty well knew, that the Intereſt he then had in his People was ſuch, that he need but to have demanded, and it would certainly have been given to him; Notwithſtanding all which, to ſhow his Subjects that he valued Reigning in their Hearts and Affections, much more, than to be Maſter of their Lives and Fortunes, forfeited to him as aforeſaid; he was graciouſly pleaſed himſelf to preſs his two firſt Parliaments to paſs a general Act of Indemnity (which they did with great regret) and threw himſelf upon his Parliaments for ſuch ſupplies as they then thought neceſſary for the preſent ſupport of the Government, without making any Bargain, or entring into any Capitulation with them, as he might have done, for a conſtant and certain Revenue for the future.

Nor

Nor did His Majesty (if he had any such design) deny himself in this respect only, but in many other, that were in his power, whereby he might have inricht himself, and brought Immence Sums of Mony into his Coffers to have been kept in readiness, (when ever he had been pleased to set up for such a Government) wherewith to have defrayd the necessary Charges thereof, as for Instance.

His Majesty might have taken all the Church Lands into his own possession, where the Incumbants were dead, (and there were very few living when he came first in) all the Rents belonged by Law to him, till he filled up the Vacancies, and he might have renued all their Leases, and taken the Fines to himself (without doing any wrong) and was offered 850000 *l.* for so doing, as also that the Yearly Revenue of the Church should be doubled, and every Purchaser in *England* satisfied (which would have been a great Security to his Government) notwithstanding all which, he could not be prevailed with to accept of, or close with, that offer.

Again, if His Majesty ever had any such design, how easy had it been for him to have taken the same course that *Henry* the 7th and other Princes formerly did, and if he had so done (when the Parliament in few years after his Restauration, had given him above five Millions of Mony to carry on a War with *Holland*) how easie had it been for His Majesty to have closed a Peace, got vast Sums of Mony for so doing, and put up that and the greatest part of what the Parliament had given him into his own Coffers; whereby, and by means aforementioned (had he been parcimonious, and designed mischeif to his Subjects:) he at this day would have had all the Coyn of the Kingdom in his Exchequer, and therewith might have Governed his People, and commanded their Liberties and Properties at his pleasure.

But our Kings Design and Practice hath been hitherto, so far from taking this Course, that his Subjects have taken occasion rather to condemn him for expending so great a Treasure, as hath been given him, and yet at the same time rejoyce, and please themselves with the consideration, that it is gon, accounting nothing a greater Security against Arbitrary Power, than their Princes being under a necessity to fly to his People in Parliament for supplies upon the least extraordinary accident, or Emergency of State; and tho they know, and are well assured this is the Kings present Condition, yet, most malitiously, would they impose upon his Subjects, and force them, contrary to Reason, to believe that he designs to Govern Arbitrarily, when at the same time they are well assured it is impossible for him so to do.

For no Prince can Govern Arbitrarily without a Force, nor raise and maintain such Force without Mony, nor come at that Mony without Credit, nor can our King, if he would, so Govern, raise such Force, and get Mony to pay them with, but by the consent of his People in Parliament, neither can he change our Government here, but by a long tract of time.

Wherefore, no wise or considering person ought or can ever believe (whatever they say) that His Majesty (who hath never attempted any such thing since his Restauration, notwithstanding the many opportnnities before mentioned, which he had to have facilitated the work) especially coming in after the greatest Tyrant that ever Reigned, finding an Army raised, which would not only have served him, but made his Government more tolerable (being agreeable to the pattern left by *Oliver*, who raised and kept them on Foot) if His Majesty, I say, has neglected such oppertunities as these of setting up Arbitrary Government, in the vigour of his Youth, when newly Married, in height of Reputation, beloved and feared of all both abroad and at home, in expectation of Issue of his own to Succeed

ceed him, and having a Parliament to assist him, such as never any King of *England* before had, (a Parliament that would have denyed him nothing he should ever have desired of them) how can any rational man think or imagine he will attempt it now, when his Exchequers is empty, his Reputation (by the horrid false and scandalous Misrepresentations aforesaid) low, and himself growing into Years, and without Issue of his Own to Inherit, especially at this time, when his Kingdoms are awakened and on their Guard to oppose it.

The rather ought we not to believe this, if we seriously consider what most men certainly know to be true, which is, that our King is a Prince of a most peaceable Disposition, merciful in his Nature, hating Cruelty, Oppression and Trouble, a Prince under whom, (as the Author of that saying most truly said, and by experience hath since found) the unfortunate fall gently; if so, then ought no man easily to believe that he should now devest himself of his Glory, by changing his Nature and Disposition, to live the remainder of his time in Confusion and Trouble, and pass from that Estate of Hapiness and Security which he now Injoys in the Affections of his People, to a necessity of being afraid of all mankind, and beholding to the assistance of an Army for his future security, (which is the height of Slavery) a Prince under their Guard and Protection being as unsecure as his people, and as much at their mercy, as the *Roman* and *Ottaman* Princes ever were.

Neither can such vain fancy enter into any mans mind that hath common sence, so as to create in him a beleif thereof, when he shall Consider what Laws His Majesty hath past, for securing the Liberty of the Subject against the Bugbear of Arbitrary Power, which so many pretends to be afraid of.

1. To wit, the Petition of Right against quartering Souldiers, by which all power of marching with an Army, without Money wherewith Constantly to defray their Quarters, is taken away, and without an Army there is no danger of Arbitrary Government.

2. The Act for taking away the Courts of Wards and Liveries, and that for Sale of Fee farme Rents, before which most Subjects held their Lands of the King, and were obliged to do him Suite and Service, and their Childern during their minority lyable to be his Wards from all which they are now Discharged.

3. The *Habias Corpus* bill, in passing whereof, His Majesty hath in a manner at once Discharged all his menial Servants, from his Royal protection, and put it out of his own power to Imprison any Suspected Person, so as to hold him long, tho for Treason itself.

These were the Acts the wisdom of our Parliments conceived best for the security of the Subjects against Arbitrary Power and Government, and these Acts the King most readily Condiscended to pass, and now to Imagine he should design a change of Government, were to conclude, he follows Councills and takes Measures unknown to all Ages before, and contrary to all former Examples, and it argues great Pusilanimity in his Subjects to be afraid of that which (morally speaking) is in its own nature impossible.

The rather for that His Majesty who might (as I said before) have carved out a standing Revenue at his first Restauration, sufficient to have supported such a Government as we fear; he to show he had no such Intention contented himself with a Revenue, the greatest part whereof is only for his life (as the Customes) and accepted of the Hereditary part of Excise amounting but to 300000 *l. per annum*, in lieu of his Court of Wards and Liveries (which was of twice that yearly value) besides the Interest he had thereby in almost all his Subjects Estates.

If

If then His Majesty hath hitherto done nothing tending to the setting up the Government pretended to be feared, (for it can be but a pretence) tho he hath sometimes had two Millions, and never till of late less than about 150000 *l. per annum*, certainly having now not much above a Million *per annum* (and no power to raise any but by Act of Parliament, and his Parliament of late years been so unkind as to give him nothing) its nonsence and malitious for any man to talke (and as great folly to believe) that there should now be a design on foot, to set up, or Introduce a new method of Government.

In my opinion it is so far from it, that the aforesaid Acts, have taken away all possibility thereof; turned things to another Extream, and so limited the Civil Magistrates Power, that in many cases they will find it dificult to mentain the Government in so headstrong and stubborn an Age as ours now is.

This that hath been said, being seriously Considered, I hope will leave room in no Man, for so much as a Suspicion, or jealosy of any Design in the King to Introduce Arbitrary Government, without which it is Impossible to set up Popery, or Invade Liberty and Property.

Not but that I must acknowledge and confess there hath, since His Majesties happy Restauration, been some things done which seemed to have a tendency, to all these mischeifs; These I shall breifly give Account of, show how they came about, the evil Effect they have had, what Inconveniencies they have occasioned, who advised those Councils and since have Endeavoured to bring His Majesty, his Ministers and Government in Contempt with his people, for the mischiefs that have happened as the Events and ill Consequenses of such, their own pernicious Machinations.

And when I have done with this point, I shall Endeavour to show how little Danger there is of Poperies coming into *England*, tho a Popish succeſſor should happen, and that all the noise made about that, is only a design set on foot by the *French* King, and managed by his Pentioners in secret Conjunction with our Male-contents, and men of Common-wealth Principles on purpose to create Jealosies, fears and troubles amongst us, and hinder our King and his people from Uniting till the *French* King hath made his Game sure, finisht his Conquests, destroyed the Protestants and their Religion abroad, that with the more Ease he may destroy us and it together in *England*, and I will endeavour to demonstrate that nothing else can be or is designed by most of the hot headed Gentlemen (whatever pretence they make to the contrary) who spend their whole time keeping several Companies purposely to exclaim against His Majesty, his Ministers and Government) but to promote Popery (which they so cry out against) and advance the Popish Interest (which they so much pretend to fear) and show that they are ruining the Protestants and their Religion, even when they so highly enveigh against Popery and Papists, therefore by true Protestants ought to be avoided as Wolves and Bears designing to devour them.

The most remarkable passages that have happened, and which first occasioned these Jealousies and fears, of Introducing Arbitrary Power, and Popery; were transacted about 10 Years since; Ile mention them briefly, and leave the reader to recollect who steerd then at Helme, in whose Cabals those Resolutions were not only taken, but by whom also they afterwards were put in Execution.

First, His Majesties gratious Declaration for suspending all penal Laws, and granting Indulgence to Dissenters, the only thing, to my remembrance done since the Kings Restauration, that had the least tendency to the setting up Arbitrary Power or Popery; and this I must confess *prima facie* seemed to aime at both; tho neither of them was, as I believe, designed by the King,

who granted the ſame on no other account, than for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and upon their ſolicitation, therefore ought rather to have been with all humility and thankfulneſs accepted and acknowledged as His Majeſties great Grace and Favour, than with ſuch high Ingratitude turned upon the King to his prejudice, and the diſadvantage and diſhonor of his Government.

It is undoubtedly in the power of the King by His Royal Prerogative to deſpence with the penalty of any Statute whatſoever *pro hac vice*, upon any Emergency of State (where the matter diſpenſed with, is not *malum in ſe*, but only *malum quia prohibitum*,) by granting Liſcences with a *non obſtante* of the ſeveral Statutes in force againſt the matter Diſpenſed with, and ſo he might have granted Licences to Diſſenters, to meete for the Exerciſe of their Religion, and appointed places of meeting, and Parſons to Preach amongſt them, which the Law and former practices of his Royal Anceſtors would have warranted and could never have been Queſtioned.

But to Suſpend a Law is in the Nature of an Obrogation, and he that can obrogate may as well aſſume the power of making Laws, and that Prince who hath power to make one, may make any Law, if any Law, a Law to raiſe Mony and Forces, and that Prince that hath ſuch Authority ſhall never need call a Parliament, he himſelf having Power, to raiſe what Mony and Force he ſhall think fit, *ergo* may govern his Subjects Arbitrarily at his Royal Pleaſure.

This was the chief Reaſon why the next ſucceeding Parliament after this Declaration was Iſſued, (tho they were willing Diſſenting Proteſtants ſhould have had Eaſe) Addreſt His Majeſty for the Cancelling that Declaration, to which Addreſs, His Majeſty moſt gratiouſly was pleaſed to give his Royal Conceſſion, but a ſecond ground of ſuch Addreſs, appeared to be.

The Conſideration the Parliament had, that the ſaid Declaration ſuſpended all Sanguinary and Pecuniary Laws, againſt Prieſts, Jeſuits and Papiſts, which if continued long, might ſilently and by degrees have Introduced Popery, and cauſed its growth amongſt us, this they had great reaſon to ſuſpect might be deſigned by ſome of thoſe who adviſed the King thereto, who now endeavour to throw the odium (due to themſelves for ſuch pernicious Councils) upon the King (who our Law ſays can do no wrong.)

Again, who was it that about the ſame time adviſed the ſhutting up the Exchequer, when ſo many thouſands of His Majeſties Loyal Snbjects, whole Eſtates and Fortunes were lodged therein for ſecurity; than which no Security in *Englaud* was better till this ſtop of Payments was prevailed for.

Who was it that when they had given this advice (and the ſame was agreed unto) ſtopt the Declaring thereof for ſeveral days, till they had drawn their own Mony out of the Bankers hands, well knowing ſuch ſtop muſt ruine them, and reſolving they would not loſe any thing themſelves by what they had adviſed the King to doe, to the utter ruine of ſo many of their fellow Subjects.

Was there ever ſo high a violation of Property committed in any Age, as this, or any thing done beſides this ſince His Majeſties Reſtauration tending in the leaſt to Invade the ſame.

When this was put in Execution, and the Creditors of the Bankers began to ſue for their Mony, and they flew into Chancery for Injunctions which were denyed by the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* as being contrary to Law.

Who was it adviſed His Majeſty to remove his Lordſhip from the Seal for his tumidity? Who was it that afterwards Succeeding him in that Office granted the Injunctions before denyed, and continued them till he knew the Seal was like to be taken from him, and then to Ingratiate himſelf with the Populacie diſſolved the ſame.

This Stopping of Payments in the Exchequer will appear the more hanious, and an act that all (who are Loyal, love the King, and concern themselves for his Honour, Princely Dignity and Royal Government,) must obhor if they doe but reflect back and seriously consider for what end this was done, and the sad consequences that have happened to *England* thereupon, which take as followeth.

Those who had advised His Majesty to Issue out the Declaration aforementioned, and stop the payments out of the Exchequer, had also thought it convenient that the Triple League should be broken, that His Majesty should joyn his Forces (which they then had advised him to raise, and were afterwards Incampt on *Black-heath*) with those of *France*, and that the *Dutch Smerna* Fleet then coming home richly laden should be seised, before any War with *Holland* Declared, perhaps the most pernicious and dishonourable Act that ever Prince was put upon by his Ministers (*dilenda est Carthago*) and from whence this poor Kingdom may justly date all its late Miseries and Distractions.

For hereby was the Peace of all Christendome Disturbed.

This hath occasioned the loss of some hundred thousands of Christian lives, Exhausted the Treasure of *England*, as well as all *Europe* besides, weakned the Protestant Interest throughout the World, and strangly advanced the Growth and Power of *France*, helpt him in all his late Conquests, and made him at this day (who is the Common and Grand Enemy to the Protestant Religion) a terrour to all Nations about him, as well as a most cruel Persecutor of all his Protestant Subjects at home, of whose miseries and intollerable sufferings we have every day fresh Instances before our Eyes.

Whilst these Gentlemen, who gave His Majesty these Advises, were in his Councils and Prerogative Royal, proved subservient to their private Interests, it could never be thought high enough, tho now they are of opinion (as appears by their Actions) it can never be too low, nor too much exposed and brought in contempt.

Who was it that declared the Prerogative of the King to be Law, and not only the Law, but the principal part of the Law, and his Royal Edicts above Law.

Who was it that before the sitting of the Parliament, advised the Issuing of Writs for the Electing New Members, to serve in the House of Commons, in the rooms of those Deceased, during their recess, and when the Parliament met, and the Commons had Voted those Elections void, and ordered new Writs to be Issued, for the choice of others in the rooms of those, so unduly Elected and Returned.

Who was it that for some days refused to Seal the same, declaring it to be an Intrenchment upon Prerogative, and when obliged thereto by His Majesties possitive Commands, went home and turned his back upon the Sealers, whilst the Seal was affixing to those Writs, to the end (as he said) that his Eyes might never behold Prerogative trampled upon by a House of Commons.

I shall forbear to name any persons, it being fresh in every mans memory, that took any kind of notice of publick transactions, who were then our Premier Ministers of State, and took mighty care to maintain Prerogative and advance it to the height, the better to improve the same to their own Advantage.

But no sooner upon the Adresses of the House of Commons had His Majesty resolved to Cancel the before Mentioned Declaration, and Issue out Writs for new Elections, then one of those Noble Peers, finding he could not deswade the King (as he Endeavoured) from Complying with his Parliament therein, aplyed to the Commons, Rigled himself into their Cabals, and

by

by subtil Insinuations stopt the Impeachment designed against him in Parliament, for such his Pernitious Councels.

Which done he presently fell to work and plaid his Exploits in the House of Lords where being one day Privately Charged with high Ingratitude, in having deserted his Master, his Lordship made answer, It was the King that had left him by departing from his Declaration, and not he the King, and Immidiately with some other Lords closed with the Mobile, set up for *Populer Interest*, and Endeavour'd in all parts of the Kingdom, to possess the People with Prejudice to His Majesties Royal Person and Government on pretence that his Majesty really designed to Introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery amongst them, and that they for opposing the same were removed from his Councels and all places of Trust, when as (if any such Intreagues were then on foot) they had been the first advisers and cheif promoters thereof.

By these and other such like false Suggestions, they fomented differences between the King and his People, Created in them Jealosies and Distrusts of each other, prevented the Parliaments giving His Majesty the Suplies necessary for Enabling of him to have Joyned his Arms with those of the States General and their Allyes (which he declared himself ready to have done) for preventing the further Growth of the Power of *France*; and yet all that while, alarmed and frightned the Subjects with daily Printing and Spreading abroad Pamphlets wherein they Represented, how dangerous a Condition they were in by reason of the Increase of that Kings Power, with whom they seemingly prest His Majesty to make War, tho' certainly they never Intended he should so doe, for if they had, they would have Endeavoured to have gotten him the Sinues thereof, To witt Money wherewith to have defrayd the Charge thereof, aud not used all their Art and Skill as they did to hinder him from the same.

By way of degression give me leave here to offer two Questions to serious Considerations.

First, wither those who advised His Majesty to break the Triple League, Seiz the *Dutch Smirna* Fleet before a War with *Holland*, was declared, Suspend all his Penal Lawes, stop payments out of his Exchequer, and Joine his Arms with those of the *French* King, against the States General of the United Provinces, may not reasonably and without breach of Charity be suspected to have been (at the time of such advice given) Pentioners of *France* and whether (if any thing done since His Majesties most happy Restauration ever had any tendency towards the Introducing of Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom) It was not His Majesties proceedings upon those Councils.

2ly. His Mejesty (upon the Adresses and advice of his Parliament, having Resolved to depart from the aforesaid Councils cancel his Declaration, Issue out Writs for new Elections, withdraw his Arms from the *French* Kings assistance, and send them in Ayde to the States Genreral of the United provinces for preventing the further Growth of the power of *France*, whether those Persons who ever since have made it their bnsiness to devide between the King and his Subjects, and prevent the Parliaments giving him when he desired 600000 *l.* to have Enabled him in time to have Joined his forces with those of the States Generall and their Allyes for the End before mentioned, may not as reasonably and with as litle breach of Charity (as the former) be suspected to be *French* Pentioners; The first Designing only to advance *France*, by bringing *Holland* Low, and these Contriving how to keep *Holland* under by hindring His Majesty from Assisting them for the pulling down

down the power of *France*; If the latter may be Equally ſuſpected with the former; I am ſure all who have taken any kind of notice of the Tranſactions of Affairs amongſt us, for this Eight or Nine Years paſt, muſt needs know who they are, that have been guilty of both.

But to Proceed,

Whilſt theſe Noble Lords were in Power, and one of them, either as Chancellor of the Exchequor, or one of the Lords Commiſſionors of his Majeſty's Treaſury, had the almoſt ſole manadgery and diſpoſe of every Branch of His Majeſties Revenue.

No Sum of Mony could be granted the King by his Parliament, that by them was Eſteemed ſufficient, a Million and half, Two Millions and half, at a time ſignified little.

But no ſooner were they Diſchardged from their Miniſtration, then the Cry (every where ſet about by them) was, You Free-holders of *England*, you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, have a care what you do, keep cloſe your Purſes, if you give Mony you are undone; Prerogative will be advanced too high, Arbitrary Power and Popery will certainly be ſet up, and the Subjects thereby Enſlaved, like thoſe of *France*; as if Prerogative Power, though Veſted in the King's Perſon, were not to be Exercis'd by himſelf, but by his Premier Miniſters, and as if there were no perſons in *England* fit to be made ſuch Miniſters, or to be Intruſted with the Exerciſe of that Power, ſave only they who for the Reaſons aforeſaid, His Majeſty had thought fit to remove from their Truſt, and out of His Concils.

This amongſt ſimple Honeſt people gained belief, was lookt upon as wholſom Council, the which they Imbraced with thankfulneſs, and diligently perſued, every where agreeing to inſtruct their Repreſentatives in Parliament to this purpoſe, and upon the choice of the three laſt Parliaments, choſe few or none to Repreſent them, but ſuch as they were aſſured would purſue this their Direction, which accordingly hitherto hath been done.

Now give me leave, in ſhort to account the Sad Conſequences that have Inſued upon theſe Evil Practices; His Majeſty, for want of Supplies neceſſary, (which theſe falſe and ſubtle Inſinuations put into the Ignorant Peoples Heads, kept from him) hath hitherto been rendered uncapable of carrying on the War againſt *France*, which the Parliament ſtill preſt for, and His Majeſty promiſed to have begun, and would have vigorouſly purſued (if they would have given him 600000 *l.* when he deſired it, the which they refuſed to doe) neither have they ſince given him any Mony, but what by the Act that gave it, was appropriated to particular Services.

The Conſideration of this gave Courage to the *French*, and ſo diſheartned the *Dutch*, that they for their own preſervation, were obliged to agree a Peace without the conſent of their Confiderates, who ſince have been neceſſitated to enter into the ſame, though to the unſpeakable Dammage of Chriſtendom.

For hereby was the Confideracy broken, between the Emperor, *Spaniard*, *Dane*, *Hollander*, and all the Princes of the *Rhine*.

By this the Duke of *Brandenburgh* was obliged to deliver up all his Conqueſts in *Pomerania*, and *Bremen*, which had coſt him ſo dear.

By this means the Confiderates Army, for want of Mony, hath ſince been moſt of it Disbanded; whilſt the *French* Army, with his Immence Revenue, is ſtill kept on foot, and daily Increaſed, to the Terror of all *Europe*.

The Incurſions he hath ſince made upon *Flanders*, *Alſace*, *Strasburg*, and *Cazal* (the Keys into *Germany* and *Italy*) hath Alarmed all parts of the World, none knowing where he will deſign next, nor what places he will Demand as Dependences belonging to his new Conqueſts.

I know this is all Charged upon our preſent Miniſters, as the effect of

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their Male Administrations, and the People are laboured hard to believe the same.

But in my Oppinion all these Mischiefs proceed from, and are the ill Effects of the afore-mentioned Evil Councils, which the King so long since had given him, and were put in practice as aforesaid, and proceed chiefly from the Male-contentedness of some of the Persons that gave those Councils, who being used to Govern, and now removed from all places of Trust, know not how to Obey, and sit quiet, therefore endeavor to Confound all His Majesties Councils, break all his Measures, and obstruct all Proceedings for Publick Good, in hopes to oblige His Majesty to a necessity of Restoring them to His Favor, and their former Trust, as not being able to Mannage the Government without them.

I cannot say these are the sole occasions of our present Mischiefs, for there are a sort of men, about the City, and all over *England*, in every County, of Turbulent Spirits, Active Minds, Subtle Wits, little Fortunes, and less Consciences, Credit or Reputation sufficiently Debauch'd, and Vitious in their Principles and Conversations, these are found out and made use of by the *French*, are Pentionors to that King, and Imployed to fall in with our own Male-contents, and seemingly to take their parts; these run from place to place, tell the Danger the Kingdom is in, of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and of the Plot on foot to destroy the King, and Protestant Religion, and what Danger the Protestants are in, of being Massacred, these Improve their Interest with the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in every Parliament, to hinder giving any Mony, least they Inslave the Kingdom thereby, these Roar about Streets, and at every Coffee-House, and in all Companies they come into, what Danger the Protestant Religion is already in, and that it will certainly be Destroyed, if ever a Popish Successor should happen in *England*, flock like Bees to the Court of Request when our Parliament sits, bussing in the Ears of our Representatives, That there is no way to be secured, but by passing an Act for Secluding His Royal Highness, the Duke of *York*, from ever Inheriting (let him now, or hereafter be of what Religion he will) the Imperial Crown of this Realm, which for the Three last Parliaments, hath been vigorously Endeavored, and with success to their Designs, by having hindred all other Affairs, and prevented all Remedies for settling and composing our present Differences, and securing us against future Mischiefs.

These Pentioners are so subtle, and seem by their Carriage so real fierce and violent against Arbitrary Power and Popery, and Zealous for securing our Liberties and Properties, that to our Misery they have gained too much Credit amongst the Gentry, and down right honest Country-Protestants, because what they perswade them unto, at first sight seems greatly their Interest.

But by the little Conversation I have had with them, and the best Observation I can make of their Proceedings, they appear to be Jesuits or Papists in Masquerade, like Watermen rowing one way and looking another, *French* Pentionors, (or at least Act as such) carrying on the Popish Plot apace, which they so violently Decry, do the *French* King's Drudgery, promote his Designs, and instead of preventing Arbitrary Power, and Popery, Endeavor what in them lies, to Introduce and Establish both; and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, were it not so (which I pray God every sober Protestant may see through and prevent) they would never Endeavor as they do, to divide between the King and his Subjects, (whose Interests are so inseperable, as that to separate between them, is to destroy both) nor create Distrust in the King of his People, or in the People of their Prince, the Consequence whereof will inevitably (if continued) be the Destruction of both.

Did

Did not these Gentlemen thus design, certainly they would not at this time of the Day Endeavor (as they doe) to widen Breaches, heighten Differences, and increase Animosities between Protestant and Protestant, divide and subdevide them into so many several Factions and Parties, but rather study how to close and make up the Breaches, heal the Divisions, and compose the Differences amongst them, by Uniting them in Love (though of different perswasions) thereby to strengthen their hands against their Common Enemy the Papists.

Now I will Endeavor to show, that these men act quite contrary, and that what they are doing tends to the Interest of *France*, the advantage of Popery, and is destructive to the Protestant Interest.

For this purpose I lay down as my Foundation, That the King of *France*, his Grand Design is to make himself Universal Monarch of the World, this he knows he can never do, if the King of *England* and his Subjects were heartily United, and did Love and durst Trust each other, for that People that Love and Trust their Prince, will never deny him any Supply necessary, for his own Support, and their Defence; therefore if all those Jealousies and Fears, which these sort of Caterpillars have fixed in the minds of the Subjects, were removed, and it were possible to undeceive them, and show how they have been Imposed upon, to their prejudice, and that all Reports of His Majestie's design to Invade Liberty and Property, and Introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power, were false, then would the King have their Hearts entire to himself, consequently their Purses, and could never fail of sufficient Subsidies for support of his Prerogative, and the Government, and securing Us against all Attempts from abroad, as well as at home.

This the King of *France* well knows, and therefore Endeavors to prevent, foreseeing that such an Union would be fatal to him, for then would our King be able to stop all his Proceedings, hinder not only his making farther, but oblige him to vomit up all, or the most part of his new made Conquests; therefore his Design by these his Emissaries and Pentionors, is to keep up Jealousies and Fears, and to prevent all means used for Reconciliations amongst us; by crying out still of the Danger of Popery, how that Religion increaseth in *England*, (though they know there is not one Papist in the Kingdom for One Hundred Protestants) this is done with design to oblige His Majesty, for avoiding of Clamor upon himself, to proceed against Jesuits and Papists at Law, to Convict them of Recusancy, and Seise Two Thirds of their Estates, the which is prosecuted by a few covetous Persons) only with design to get Devidents of their Estates to themselves.

By which Proceedings here, the *French* King does his works abroad, goes on to finish his Conquests, takes advantage of the Prosecution of a few Papists here; to make that his Example to Persecute, with all Imaginable Cruelty, innumerable multitudes of Protestants in *France*, with Resolution to Extirpate that Religion out of his Dominions, (and if other Catholick Princes should follow his Example, which God forbid) it will not be long er'e his Most Christian Majesty will have finished his work, made himself Universal Monarch, have totally destroyed the Protestant Religion abroad, which done, I appeal to all good and wise men, who Love *England*, and the Protestant Religion, and desire its Growth and Preservation; how soon, and with what Ease, that King may over-run us, and Extirpate that Religion from amongst us, which we seem so Zealous to promote, but by the wilful mistake of many (I fear) are Destroying.

Now that I may convince all honest, plain hearted, and well meaning Protestants, that there are a sort of Persons amongst them who make it their business to Inveagle their heads with false and scandalous Stories, (thereby to

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poſſeſs their minds with prejudice to His Majeſty, and Government, and that thoſe ſo Employed, are either all, or moſt part of them Pentioners of *France*, who betake themſelves to this work, with deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, rather then to preſerve it, and Inſlave Us, and the Kingdom, inſtead of preventing Arbitrary Government from being ſet up over us, and that all the World may ſee, that their Actions (when laid open) have no tendency to the advancement of the Proteſtant Intereſt, or ſecuring us againſt the Growth of Popery, nor to deliver us from the Grievances they pretend the Kingdom Groans ſo much under, give me leave to offer to your ſerious Conſiderations, theſe few following Particulars,

Firſt, If they deſigned to promote the Proteſtant Religion, and did heartily deſire its flouriſhing in *England*, certainly they would then conſider the miſerable Condition of the poor Proteſtants in *France*, what Cruelties they Endure, and that would beget ſuch Pity and Compaſſion towards thoſe, as would put them upon Petitioning His Majeſty for Mercy to the few Papiſts in *England*, and to ſtop their Convictions upon their preſent Proſecutions, for ſome time, rather then to ſuffer multitudes of Proteſtants, and that Religion, to be Deſtroyed abroad, meerly to Inrich themſelves, by receivnig ſhares of the Eſtates of Papiſts Convicted here, ſuch Pity would be more acceptable to God, more agreeable to the Spirit of a true Proteſtant, more for the Honour of that Religion, and in the End prove as advantagious to their private Intereſts in this World.

Did theſe buſie Gentlemen I ſpeak of, deſign good to *England*, deſire its Proſperity, or to promote the Proteſtant Intereſt, and had believed the Kingdom in ſuch danger of Popery and Arbitrary Power, or that the Subjects had ſuffered under ſuch Grievances, as they Endeavor to repreſent to the People.

Then certainly ever ſince their apprehenſion of ſuch Danger, they upon the opening of every Parliament, or Seſſion of Parliament, would have put the ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons (as well as the Lords) upon a right Courſe of preventing the Miſchiefs they ſeemed to fear, and delivering us from the Grievances they pretended the Kingdom ſuffered under, but as if they had not believed what they reported, they took the contrary Courſe, and inſtead of perſwading the Parliament to moderate ſober Councils and Proceedings, ſtudied to put them into Heats and Paſſions, and upon Exclaiming againſt particular Perſons, to whom they owed prejudice, as being His Majeſties Servants and Miniſters.

Theſe upon common Fame, before heard, or Witneſſes examined againſt them, muſt be Removed from the Kings Preſence and Councils for Ever, on Addreſſes from the Houſe of Commons, no Body knew for what, ſave Fancies and Immaginations.

But ſome of them being too Great, and their Integrities and Abilities for His Majeſties Service, better known to him then them, His Majeſty not thinking fit to Remove them.

Thereupon ſome of theſe worthy Patriots of their Countrey, for ſeveral Seſſions of Parliament, made it their buſineſs, to doe *nothing* ſave to contrive Differences between the Two Houſes of Parliament, for which purpoſe, they queſtioned the Lords Juriſdiction, in matters of Appeals, particularly in the Caſes of *Sherly* and *Fag*, and others, which Controvercy they carried ſo high, that Sir *John Fag*, and ſeveral Lawyers, were Committed by the Houſe of Commons to the Tower, for only appearing before the Lords at their Bar, and owning their Judicature in Caſes of Appeals, from Courts of Equity, this ſingle Point cauſed ſeveral Prorogations, and rendred ſeveral Seſſions Fruitleſs, though the ſame was never before called in queſtion ſince His Majeſties Reſtauration.

Now

Now if thoſe Gentlemen, who ſo highly concerned themſelves in theſe matters, had been of ſuch publick Spirits, as to ſpend their time in laying open the Dangers they apprehended we were in, and the Grievances we ſuffered under, with Deſign to have prevented thoſe Dangers, and redreſſed thoſe Grievances.

They would certainly then have applied to the ſeveral Members of Parliament, preſt for Moderation, deſired them to avoid all Heats and Paſſions, and to look into the Plot, ſearch it to the bottom. Try the Lords in the Tower, and examine the Truth of the ſeveral Grievances complained of, and find means to prevent the Danger of the former, and ſecure us for the Future againſt the latter, in doing whereof, they muſt neceſſarily have found who had occaſioned both, and after ſecuring the Subjects, then to have fallen on the Perſons Guilty, would have been more proper, for if then theſe Perſons had been too great for the Parliament, and procured Prorogations and Diſſolutions, yet had the Parliament diſcharged their Conſciences, done their Duty, preſerved their Countrey, and deſerv'd Thanks and Honour from thoſe they Repreſented,

But to fall upon particular Perſons firſt, and to doe nothing for our Security, becauſe they could not have their Ends againſt thoſe Perſons, they had prejudice too, give me leave to ſay for them, to be perſwaded to this method of Proceedings, in my apprehenſion, did not argue, that either they themſelves, or thoſe perſons that informed them of the Grievances and Dangers the Nation was ſaid to lie under, believed the truth of either; and if ſo, then was it a Barbarous Act, to amuſe, alarm and frighten the People from their Duty to their Prince, with groundleſs Noiſe and Clamor.

If really there were at thoſe times ſuch Grievances and Dangers, as Repreſented, how could the Parliament have anſwered it to God, and their Countrey; if through their private Heats and Animoſities, the Miſchiefs threatned, (and which the Nation feared) had fallen upon us, if they had then believed our Danger ſo great as they diſcourſed it to be, and had not known, that more Noiſe and Clamor was made, then there was juſt occaſion for, I am of opinion, they would for their own Honour, as well as the publick Good, have firſt endeavoured to have ſecured our future Happineſs, rather than hazarded the ſame, out of ſome private Peak they had to particular Perſons.

Again, If theſe Gentlemen, by the Endeavors they uſed, to have obtained an Act for Secluding his Royal Highneſs from the Imperial Crown of *England*, had deſigned to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor, had that (I ſay) been their ſingle Intention, certainly they would have made the Act general, to bar for the future all Perſons of the Popiſh Religion from Inheriting, or wearing the Imperial Crown of *England*; but to bring in a Bill againſt *James* Duke of *York*, alone by name, and that whether he be Papiſt or Proteſtant at the time of the Kings Death (provided he ſhould happen to ſurvive him) this kind of procedure ſeems rather to be the effect of the Malice and Revenge of ſome particular perſons againſt the Dukes Perſon, (who have gone ſo far as that they judg, they cannot be ſafe, if ever he Reigns,) than a Deſign to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor.

For Firſt, If ſuch Bill was paſt, and his Royal Highneſs ſhould die before the King, that Act dies with him.

Secondly, If the Duke ſurvive the King, he being near as Old, it cannot be expected he ſhould live long after him, ſo it would do little good, nor will it be any great Security to the Kingdom, to have him bar'd, and no Body elſe.

Besides, the offering of such Bill was unmannerly, and put a hardship upon the King, to Exclude by a Law his only Brother from Inheriting the Crown of *England*, though he should be a Protestant, and at the same time, (out of Zeal to the promotion and preservation of the Protestant Religion) leave room for the King of *Spain*, (or any other Popish Successor, except the Duke of *York*) to Succeed our present King, and bring in the *Spanish* Inquisition with him.

What savors this of, or looks it like, but a malicious Design of particular persons against the Duke of *York*, I am sure I can find nothing of a real Design in it, to Secure the Protestant Religion and Interest.

Whereas if the Bill had been made general, to have barred all Popish Successors, it would have been more excusable, and might perhaps have been judged the effect of the Parliaments Care of the Protestant Interest, and it may be, would not have appeared so difficult for the King to have past, if he had found reason to believe it for his Subjects Good, and with tendency to the Security and Happiness of his Kingdoms.

Because in such Case His Majesty had done his Royal Brother no wrong, only by advice of Parliament had past a general Law, for the publick Good, and Security of his Kingdoms, That could neither hurt the Duke, or bar him the Succession without his own consent by Declaring himself a Papist.

Besides, if this Bill had past into an Act, what would it have signified, has not many of the like nature been past against several former Princes, who notwithstanding thereof, after lived to sway the Scepter in this Kingdom.

I know but they will tell you, they designed to have seconded this Bill, with another for an Association, whereby to have enabled the People to keep the Duke out by Force, and perhaps they would have been as angry and uneasy to, if that had not past, which if it had, then might they have presently Dethron'd His Majesty, the present Possessor of the Crown, and that with as much ease and Justice, as they can hinder his Royal Brother from Succeeding him, and thereby Intaile a War Domestick and Foreign upon the Kingdom

Pray Consider, whoever sets up against his Royal Highness's Title, must have at least Fifty Thousand Horse and Foot constantly in Arms, to Defend himself, and keep the Crown on his Head; for the Duke is an Excellent Soldier, a Gentleman of Personal Valor and Resolution; a Prince of great Conduct and Interest, (beloved both abroad and at home) therefore cannot want Supplies from his Friends here, or the Aid of Foreign Princes (at least, of those who are Allied to him) to assist him in recovering his Right, which perhaps may Intail upon us another War for Fifty Years, and the Miseries attending the same, such as that formerly, between the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and if such an Army must be raised, (though no War happen) must not the People of *England* pay them, and what that will cost, or what Arbitrary Power that Prince may set up, that hath such an Army at his Devotion, I leave to Judgment.

Consider, if those that advise to this Course of Procedure, be Friends to their Countrey and the Protestant Religion, take care to preserve the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or rather, whether they are not such as put us upon Methods to destroy them all, lay us open to Arbitrary Power, (as we were in the time of the late Horrid Rebellion) and to all the Plunderings, Freequarters, (Taxes of 60000 *l. per* Month, as was raised by *Oliver* and his Council, without a Parliament) Sequestrations, Decimations, Imprisonments, Banishments, &c.) God knows how many Mischiefs more, may ensue upon such Force being raised, and maintained, as a standing Army amongst us, as is absolutely necessary to be kept on Foot, if the Succession be altered.

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I cannot believe any honeſt man, who is really a Proteſtant, Loyal to the King, loves his Countrey, and deſires its Intereſt, Happineſs and Peace, eſpecially, if he lived in the times of the late Inteſtine War, and beheld the Miſeries the Nation then groaned under, can or will (if he has any Eſtate or Trade) ever deſire a change of Government in *England*, or a neceſſity of having a ſtanding Army to ſupport that Government, (which neceſſarily this Bill deſired, for altering the Succeſſion, muſt have) therefore none but ſome few Male-contents, or ſuch as deſire the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, will purſue the ſame any further.

Having done with this point, and ſhown how rediculous it is for men to diſtract their minds, with the fear or apprehenſion of His Majeſties Governing Arbitrarily.

I proceed to the Second thing propoſed, and hope to demonſtrate by reaſon, That we are in as little danger of Popery prevailing, howbeit a Popiſh Succeſſor hereafter ſhould happen to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Before I enter upon this, give me leave (for my own Juſtification, and to prevent being Cenſured by the Reader) Solemnly to Declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, and the whole World, That I am a Proteſtant, and have been bred up in that Religion from my Youth; I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, that to my remembrance I never was in any Pariſh Church, Chappel, or other Place, where Maſs was ſaid, or the Popiſh Religion Exerciſed, during ſuch Service being performed; I have an equal Love and Eſteem for all Proteſtants, though of different perſwaſions, ſo that they be Conſcientious, and Religious, and ſubmit to Government; and I would have them allowed all Liberty, ſo long as they uſe it, not to the Diſturbance of publick Peace, or the Government of Church and State; therefore hope a Charitable Interpretation will be made of what is here offered to Conſideration; ſince I argue (not out of any approbation to the Popiſh Religion, or deſire of its being Eſtabliſh'd here, or to live to ſee a Popiſh King Reign over us, nor out of any prejudice to any Proteſtant Diſſenter) but meerly to quiet the minds of thoſe who diſtract themſelves, with Jealouſies of Poperies over-running the Kindom, if ever a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould Reign over us, knowing how dangerus it may be to the Proteſtant Religion, for Proteſtants to be miſled by ſuch Idle Perſwaſions.

Suppoſe ſuch a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould happen, the Queſtion then will be, Whether that Prince, or his Subjects, will ſuffer moſt?

I am of oppinion, that a Prince of that Religion will find himſelf very uneaſie, and Reign with great difficulty, over the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Nations, whatever he may do over *Ireland*, there being in the Two former, One Hundred Proteſtants, for One Papiſt; though in *Ireland* perhaps, there is Ten Papiſts, for one Proteſtant, and yet even in that Kingdom, will it not be in his Power to Eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion, or Invade his Subjects Liberty and Property, much leſs to hurt us in *England*, in either of theſe particulars.

It hath been obſerved in Hiſtory, that Princes of the weakeſt Titles, have always yeilded to the beſt Laws, complying with their People, and compounding with them for the Government.

If a Popiſh Prince ever happen to Reign in *England*, though he be Right and Lawful Heir, both by Birth and Succeſſion, yet will his Religion render him ſuſpected by his People, of having a deſign to change theirs, and invade their Properties (conſiſting much in Abby and Monaſtery Land) ſo they will always keep him as uneaſie as they can, and never give him Revenue ſufficient to maintain ſuch Power and Force as ſhall endanger them.

And when the King (to whom I beseech Almighty God to grant a long Life and happy Reign) shall happen to Die, his whole Revenue, excepting about 450000 *l. per Annum*, Determines with him; so that if his Royal Highness survive him, and be King, he will not (with all his own present Revenue, joined to that of the Crown) have above 550000 *l. per Annum.*

How can any rational man then believe, that with that Revenue he will be able to raise and maintain such Force, as must necessarily be kept on foot for his own Security, if he goes about to change the Government, or alter the Religion of the Kingdom Establish'd by Law.

Our present King, though he hath had a Revenue of Two Millions, or a Million and half, Yearly; and now has above a Million *per Annum*, never yet attempted such alteration, and shall the Duke of *York* (supposing he had a Will to do it, which I am confident he neither hath, ever had, nor will have) be able to Establish Arbitrary Government, or Popery, with 550000 *l. per Annum*, It is in my poor Judgment, only altogether impossible.

Object. *I allow the Duke with such a Revenue cannot hurt us, but the* French *King having at least, Two Hundred Thousand men in Arms, and a Revenue sufficient to pay them, and being obliged to keep those Armies Imployed abroad, to prevent their Rebelling at home; he is so Zealous for Establishing Popery throughout Christendom, and Rooting out Heresie, that for promoting so Meritorious a Work, he will Supply our King, if a Papist, with Arms and Mony sufficient to carry on that Design with Success here.*

Answ. It is great folly to Imagine, that the *French* King, who knows his own Interest, (though it be true, he neither wants Men or Mony to carry on any Design he undertakes) should assist our King with either, for the Uniting him and his Subjects under Arbitrary Power, or any one Religion whatsoever (tho Popery it self) both being Destructive to his Interests and a putting Power in the hand of our King to break all that Kings Measures, and prevent his making himself Universal Monark (than which, nothing is more by him desired and endeavoured.)

For if once the King of *England* and his People were United under either, the *French* King knows he will be able to give check to all his further prosecution of that design; therefore tho he may (and I believe does) spend a hundred thousand pounds *per annum* in paying Pentioners Imployed by him or his Ministers to devide between the King and his Subjects (which being his Interest to have done, he will spare no charge that may Contribute to the doing thereof) yet would he not give 20000 *l.* to make our King absolute, or Unite him and his People under any one Religion whatsoever, tho Popery it self.

For he is a wise Prince, studies his Interest, knows how he parts from his Mony, and will dispose of none to carry on any design that may turne to his prejudice, than which, nothing in the World can be a greater than to have the King and his Subjects United.

What hurt then can his Royal Highness do his Subjects if he Succeed his Brother, since there will not be left when the King dies Revenue sufficient to support the necessary Expence of his Royal Family and Government, without Supplies from abroad or at home, and if no Forrain Prince but the *French* King can, and that King will not Supply him, must he not then immediately call a Parliament, must not the People chuse that Parliament, will the People of *England* awakened as they now are, and then will be with Fears and Jealousies of the Danger of Popery coming in upon them, and loosing their Estates, (consisting of Abby and Monastery Lands) chuse any Members to serve in those Parliaments, but such as they can

trust

truſt and depend upon, to provide for the Security of their Lives, Liberties, Religion and Properties; or will thoſe Parliaments, when met, (being equally concerned in Intereſt with their Electors) ever give ſuch Popiſh Succeſſor any Revenue to hurt or deſtroy their own Intereſt.

It is Nonſence to believe they will give him a Groat, till they have provided for their own, and the Kingdoms Security, in all theſe particulars; and they know not his Royal Highneſs, that have ſo ill an opinion of him, as to believe him ſo Irroligious, ſo weak of Judgment, or void of underſtanding his own Intereſt, as to accept the Crown, take the Coronation Oath, if he reſolve not to keep and obſerve the ſame, by Governing according to Law, and ſecuring his Subjects in Peace, by preſerving to them their Religion, as well as their Liberties and Properties.

His Royal Highneſs cannot be Ignorant of the Jealouſies the Subjects of *England* have already of him, and well knows, thoſe Jealouſies will certainly increaſe, when he comes to the Crown, therefore muſt expect, when he calls a Parliament, that that Parliament, when it meets, will certainly tell him,

That having left our Church, and Declared himſelf thereby a Papiſt, he cannot be Truſted with the Diſpoſing any Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, or with any Sum of Mony, that may Endanger the Kingdom, by aſſiſting the Papiſts, nor will they ſuffer Perſons of that Religion to come near him, or his Court, to Influence his Councils, as we vainly Imagine,

So that in my poor Opinion, The Kingdom under ſuch a Prince, may obtain ſuch Laws, and other Conditions, for ſecuring their Religion, Liberties and Properties, (before they give any Mony) as they would never dare to propoſe to, or could ever hope for, or expect from a King of our own Religion.

Beſides, no man that hath common ſence, (whatſoever he ſays to the contrary) can believe that ever his Royal Highneſs, (if he be of another Religion, then that profeſſed in this Kingdom,) can if he ſhould live to wear the Imperial Crown of this Realm, ever hurt us, though he ſhould Deſign ſo to doe.

For being of a Religion, to which the Generality of his Subjects have a great Averſion and Antipathy, and having but a ſmall Revenue, an Inconſiderable Party, and that Party Fettered with Laws, and the whole Kingdom Alarmed, and for their own Security, Armed, and in a poſture to defend themſelves; it will be impoſſible for him to Subdue ſuch a Nation, in ſuch a Condition, and under ſuch Jealouſies and Circumſtances.

Nor will he be able to break through the Laws, made for the Defence of our Religion, more then he will to Violate thoſe made for Security of our Liberties and Properties.

If after all this, we ſhall perſiſt in our folly, and cloſe with nothing offered, except an Act for Excluding his Royal Highneſs go along with it, then of all Nations on the face of the Earth, is ours (in my Opinion) like to be the moſt Miſerable.

For ſuch alteration of the Succeſſion (as it is ſaid before) muſt be maintained by a Force, and ſtanding Army, (a Crown being always eſteemed worth Fighting for) which Force we tranſmit to Poſterity, with a deſputable Title, for a new Tryal of Skill, like that Anciently between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which every good man muſt certainly Dread the thoughts of, when he ſeriouſly conſiders, that War laſted about Sixty Years, coſt the Kingdom its whole Treaſure, beſides the Devaſtation and Deſtruction made throughout the ſame, (eſpecially in the *North*) and the many Hundred Thouſands men's Lives were loſt therein, and yet that War was occaſioned, only by varying the Hand from the Children of the

Duke of *Clarance*, Third Son to the Iſſue of *John a Gant*, the Fourth Legitimate Son of *Henry* the Fourth, and no Baſtardy in the Caſe.

I do not find in all my Reading, that any Government throughout the World, ſince the Reformation from *Rome*, ever made a Law to prohibit a Succeſſor of that Religion from Reigning over them; *Henry* the Third of *France*, though earneſtly Importuned by the Holy League, to Exclude the King of *Navar*, refuſed ſo to doe, though that King was a *Hugenot*.

In *Edward* the Sixth time, no Statute was made to bar a Popiſh Succeſſor, then in proſpect, though the Reformation was in its Infancy, and moſt Subjects were Papiſts; ſo that after his Deceaſe Queen *Mary* was admitted to the Crown, (from whom the Kingdom had little reaſon to expect any great Happineſs) rather then the Lady *Jane Gray*, who was a Proteſtant, and this done, becauſe they would not bring a deſputable Title of the Crown, upon themſelves and Poſterity.

In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, which was after the ſevere Perſecution of Queen *Mary*, (a Perſecution ſufficient to have begot an Eternal Hatred in the Nation, of any future Popiſh Succeſſor, and to have Juſtified that Queen, in paſſing a Law, for preventing the ſame) yet was there no poſitive Law made in her Reign to bar *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, then alive, who was a Papiſt, and Her Majeſties Lawful Succeſſor, all that then was done, was by the Act of 13*th* of her Reign, which made it Treaſon, to ſay the Queen and Parliament could not diſpoſe the Crown, but they never actually diſpoſed thereof.

And give me leave to ſay, That ſuch a Preſident wonld moſt certainly be as dangerous to our King now, as that wiſe Queen thought it might have been to her then; for that Prince that ſhows his People a Method of diſpoſing the Succeſſion, at the ſame time ſhakes the Title of his own Poſſeſſion.

All the Inſtances of former Parliaments, ſetling the Crown upon *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, *Henry* the Seventh, and their Iſſues, comes not to our point at all, not being done upon account of Religion, but before the Reformation, when all were of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*.

Thoſe Acts therefore was made, to quiet the Succeſſion, which Force had unſettled, (not to diſcompoſe a Rightful Succeſſion, undiſturbed) and to prevent that War and Blood-ſhed, that was rational enough to believe would have followed, and been the conſequence of diſturbing the Lawful Succeſſion, (not to break in peices an acknowledged and peaceful Succeſſion, and Involve the Nation in Blood, for many Generations to come) they were ſo far from doing that, that rather then the Kingdom ſhould be Diſtracted, with uncertain Titles; an Act was paſt in *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, to command Obedience from the Subject to the King, *De facto*, afterwards the Kingdom, though ſecure, was never ſatisfied, till *Henry* the Seventh Married the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth.

Again, If matter of Opinion in Points of Religion, ſhall be eſteemed a reaſon of State, ſufficient to Exclude a Lawful Succeſſor, from his Crown, then has a Prince harder meaſure than the meaneſt of his Subjects, by any Law yet made, and the Peace and Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms, hangs upon a very ſlender Thred, for then if the People ſhould deſign Rebellion, they need only pretend a diſlike of their Princes Religion, to bar him from his Crown and Government.

I hope the Wiſdom of our Parliaments will give no ſuch advantage againſt Proteſtants, to their Adverſaries of *Rome*, as that *Rome* ſhall ever

have occaſion to ſay with Truth, We Proteſtants in *England*, have by a Law, made our Prince uncapable of Reigning, becauſe a Heretick from the Proteſtant Religion, whilſt we our ſelves are ſtriving to make *Rome* look black and odious for that moſt Damnable Doctrine of theirs, (that Princes may be Excommunicated as Hereticks, afterwards depoſed by the Pope) ſo deteſtable a Doctrine, that we make all perſons, that take the Oath of Allegiance, Renounce and Forſwear it, let us therefore have a care we do not Imitate them in that Doctrine we ſo much Condemn.

Conſider ſeriouſly, whither ſuch a Courſe will lead us, and then Judg, whether fit to be taken, eſpecially upon ſuch a Contingency as this, (of the Dukes Surviving his Brother) which perhaps may never happen, but if it ſhould, he is of too great an Age now, to begin ſuch Change of Government, and Religion, as is ſuſpected, with any hopes of accompliſhing the ſame, in his own time; if ſo, and it be alſo true, (as it is) that he is without hopes of a Succeſſor of his own Religion, to carry on ſuch attempt by him begun, (the Prince of *Orange* and Princeſs, and the Lady *Ann*, being all Proteſtants) why then ſhould any man believe his Royal Highneſs, ſo weak a Prince, as to attempt ſuch Change, with ſo ſmall a number of men as his Religion ſhall have left him, which will appear ſo very ſmall, as not to be feared by *Engliſh* men, when *Rome* ſhall aſſault their Religion and Properties, and oblige them to Fight for the ſame.

That Prince, be he who he will, that ſhall at any time come into *England* with Popery, will come in with Weakneſs and Inability, to hurt his Subjects, by any Force of his own, nor will any Neigbouring Prince (unleſs he and all his Subjects be Lunaticks) help to make him Abſolute, that being to Endanger themſelves.

What Prince will be at Charges, Exhauſt his Treaſure, Weeken himſelf, to Strengthen his Neighbour, nor is that Prince much leſs then Mad, that ſhould in ſuch a Caſe, relye on, or truſt to ſuch Neighbouring Prince for Aſſiſtance.

And for his own Subjects, they will be more dangerous, and uneaſie to him, then he can be to them, for ſuch Prince being without Reputation, Truſt and Mony, at home, will be without Aſſiſtance from abroad; and his own Subjects will never aſſiſt him to break their own Laws; well knowing, no Prince ever attempted the ſame, but he hazarded his Crown, by making the Eſſay, nor did ever any Prince Actually break through the Laws, but he was Ruined, and loſt his Crown thereby.

Nor is it in the Power of the Duke of *York*, if he Succeed his Brother, to break our Laws, in either of the reſpects feared, but if ever they be broken, it muſt be with the mutual Aſſent of both Prince and People, aſſembled in Parliament; for as our Law now ſtands, no Magiſtrate can do any Legal or Judicial Act in any Inferior Court of Juſtice; nor bear any publick Office, Civil or Military, nor accept of, or be admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, or meet to Vote in either Houſe of Parliament, till they ſhall have firſt Renounced Popery, by taking the Oaths, and Teſts, and making the Subſcriptions by Law required.

If therefore a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould hereafter happen to Reign over us, he will find it very difficult to Repeal thoſe Laws that Eſtabliſh our Religion, the Conſideration that the Subjects will always have (being freſh in their Memories) of the Fire and Faggot Queen *Mary* exerciſed in her Reign, for the Reſcueing the Popiſh Religion, will oblige them to a ſtedfaſt Reſolution never to depart from that of their own, I mean the true Proteſtant Religion, and until thoſe Laws be Abrogated by Parliament, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for any Popiſh Succeſſor to Eſtabliſh Popery here.

If then what I have offered to Consideration be true, and it shall appear impossible to Settle a Government in this Kingdom out of the Royal Family, that shall continue, (as the late Rebellion hath demonstrated) or to hinder the Crown from descending in its due Course, without Endangering all our Ruins, and the Destruction of the Three Kingdoms, then am I sure every true Protestant, that either loves God, or the King and Government, or wishes Happiness to himself and Posterity, and the true Protestant Religion, must surcease all further attemps for altering the same.

Since nothing Imaginable can have a greater tendency to the Intailing Confusion and Misery upon us, and the Generations to come after us.

And the better to perswade to this Method of precedure, Consider, that the King cannot but have the Resentments of Humane Nature, as he is a man, though (returning to his Kingdom after the Horrid and Barbarous Murder of his Royal Father, and the illegal Banishment, and long and miserable Exile of his own, with divers Proclamations after him, setting Prises on his Head, to have betrayed him) he hath shown and exercised the mercy of a most Excellent Christian, and Gracious Sovereign, for who can say with truth, that his Life, Liberty or Property, hath been taken away, or Invaded by him, contrary to Law, or without Legal Tryals by their Peers, since his Restauration.

Blame not therefore His Hajesty, (the Impressions of these former Usages being fresh in his mind) if he (taking notice of the late violent, and unwarrantable Proceedings against him,, and apprehending from thence the same Mischiefs now designed, as heretofore) seem tenacious in some Points of his Royal Prerogative, least the Government (by the wicked Practices, and restless Endeavors, of some aspiring Subjects, uneasie in obeying any Government, in which they have not a share, and accounting it Usurpation to be deprived of that part thereof, which they heretofore too long enjoyed) should once more revert and start back.

This will appear at last (if I be not greatly mistaken) the chief occasion of all our present unhappy (and highly to be lamented) Devisions, and of the Distrust created betwen the King and his People, each fearing to be Bound, both striving to be Free; those who contrive to bind the King faster, believe he designs himself to be loose, Juding of the Kings Actions, by the measures of their own Wicked and Fallacious Intentions, and thereupon strive to break all his Measures, and disappoint him in all his Undertakings.

And if these be the occasions of our present Misery, every Loyal Subject and true Protestant in *England*, that loves the King, his Country and Religion, ought to make it his business, to prevent these misundestandings for the future, which if they would seriously, and with Sincerity and Truth endeavor, I am of Opinion, the work would not be so difficult, as our Jesuitical Incendaries, and *French* Pentionors, represents it to be, and perswade those amongst whom they convers, it is.

That Almighty God, of his Infinite Goodness and Mercy, may be prevailed with, graciously to bestow so great a Blessing as this, upon these poor Distracted Kingdoms, give me leave to propose to every man's Consideration, the Practice of these following Directions,

First, Be truly Humbled for, and unfeignedly Repent of all your former Sins, by which you have provoked God to Anger, and turn from all your Iniquities for the time to come, that his Wrath may be Apeased, and he may Repent him, of the Evil intended against us.

Love God with all your Heart, Serve him with all your Strength, make his Holy Word the Rule of your Life, and the Measure of all your future Actions, dare to doe nothing Contrary thereunto, or Derigatory to his Holy Commands.

Live by Faith not by Sight, walk with God, and be Upright, doe your Duty in your Place, To God, the King, your Country, your Neighbour, your Family, and to your own Soul.

Make it your Buſineſs to be Holy and Humble, value the Love and Favor of God, and an Intereſt in the Merits of his Dear Son your Redeemer, above all things whatſoever, and endeavor to obtain to your ſelf, a well grounded aſſurance thereof.

Die to Sin, Self, the World, and all things therein, Daily, and Live to that God by whom you Live, giving him the Glory of all his Goodneſs and Mercy, extended towards you.

Set not your Affection Inordinately upon things below, which are all Vain, Momentary and uncertain, but on things above, that are External.

Be contented in every Condition, thankful and fruitful under every various Diſpenſation of God's Providence, ſubmit to his Will, acquieſe in his Pleaſure, Bleſs him for what you have, and Murmer nor Repine not, becauſe you have no more.

Envy not thoſe who are above you, and poſſeſs more of the Riches and Honour of this Life, then you enjoy, but behold with Pity, and Chriſtian Compaſſion, how many there are better, and more deſerving (perhaps) then you, who yet want what you enjoy, and it may be, ſinfully waſt; Help and Relieve ſuch with a part of what you have.

Truſt God with the Government of the World, and ſubmit to the Powers that are over you, as being of him, believe he is a Jealous God, will take care of his Glory, vindicate his Honour, advance his Kingdom, and the Intereſt of Chriſt, and propogate his Goſpel, maugre all the oppoſition of Men, and Devils, and that this he will do in his own way, and at his own time, without any direction, or aſſiſtance from you therein; remember that he knows beſt what is good for you, and has promiſed that all things ſhall work together for good to thoſe that Love and Fear him, and keep his Commandments; and that he will keep them in perfect Peace, whoſe Minds are ſtaid on him, becauſe they truſt in him; be not therefore wiſe in your own Conceit, and think that you can direct God; *Soloman* ſaith, *Seeſt thou a Man wiſe in his own Conceit, there is more hopes of a Fool, then of ſuch a Man.*

Judg your ſelf and not another, meddle with your own, and no other man's Buſineſs, ſearch your own Heart, and try your own Spirit, whether it be of God, look into your own Deformities, and mend what is amiſs in your ſelf, before you undertake, or go about to find fault with, or reform others, every one mending one, is the only way to mend all; and when by ſuch Reformation and Amendment, we are fit for Mercy, God will give it, if we ſeek it in a right way.

Think and Eſteem of every man better then your ſelf, the lower a man in his own Conceit, the higher he is in the Eſteem of God, and good men; the Proud, God ſends away Empty, and cauſes to ſtand afar off, but to the Humble he will draw near, and him will he fill with good things.

Live in Love, and as much as in you lies, follow Peace with all men.

Doe as you would be done unto, love your Neighbour as your ſelf, forget and forgive Injuries, recompence good for evil, pray for thoſe that hate you, do good to thoſe that diſpightfully uſe you, yea pray for your Enemies, and doe them good, if in your power, but not hurt.

Lay aſide all Malice, Prejudice, and thoughts of Revenge, againſt all Mankind, let not difference in Opinion in matters of Religion, beget difference in Affection, eſpecially amongſt Proteſtants, but Unite in Love, bear and forbear with, and hide the Infirmities of each other.

Be eaſie to believe, and make known what good you hear of any man, whom you have reaſon to Judg honeſt, though of a different perſwaſion from you, and as hard to believe ill, unleſs you know it, and more of diſcovering it, except to himſelf, leaſt it prove falſe.

Give not Credit to all you hear, neither Devulge all you know, take care not to invent and ſpread abroad any falſe Stories, to the Defamation of any perſon whatſoever, eſpecially of thoſe that are ſet in Authority over you, and to whom you are obliged to be Subject, whereby their Honour, Reputation, or good Name, may be called in queſtion, or prejudiced; or their Perſons and Government rendered low, or contemptable, this is abominable, worſe then Murder, Reputation to a man of Honour; being dearer then Life it ſelf.

Lay aſide and give over all names of Diſtinction, ſuch as Tory, Whig, Phanatick, Tantivy-men, Bruminghams, Maſquerade-Papiſts, Maſquerade-Proteſtants, Church-Whigs, Church-Papiſts, and all provoking ſcurrulous Speaking, Writing and Printing, againſt each other; theſe are publick Miſchiefs, tending to the Deſtruction, rather then the Advancement of our Government, or the Proteſtant Religion, and proceeds from the Spirit of the Devil, rather then from that of our Bleſſed Saviour, whoſe Example we are commanded to Imitate.

Be Juſt, follow Truth, purſue Righteouſneſs, execute Juſtice Impartially, Relieve the Oppreſſed, Cloath the Naked, Feed the Hungry, Viſit the Sick, Releaſe the Impriſoned, be a Husband to the Widow, and a Father to the Fatherleſs, always goe about doing good, and no hurt; avoid all Frauds and Deceits, deal fairly, and above Board, with all Mankind, abhor all Tricks and little Cheats, they will never laſt long, or doe any man good; God will Diſcover and Detect them, to the Scorn and Contempt of whoever uſes them, either of one ſide, or the other, be the pretence what it will, for ſo doing; there being nothing, that he who is the God of Truth, more Abhors, then ſuch baſe and falſe Practices.

If every man would make it his Buſineſs to Obſerve theſe few Directions, and ſubmit (as commanded) to the Powers that are over him, as being of God, pay the King the Honour and Duty due to him, as his Sovereign, and prefer (as he ought) the publick good and welfare of the Kingdom; before his own private Intereſts, which now too much Governs moſt men in our Age.

And if the People of *England*, when they ſhall next Elect Members to ſerve them in Parliament, would chuſe ſuch Perſons to Repreſent them, as ſhall (when they come together to Conſult of, and Provide for their Intereſts and Security, in their Religion and Property,) carry on their Debates with calm and ſerene Spirits, lay aſide all Paſſion, Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion; Act with Moderation, Wiſdom and Prudence, and behave themſelves with that Loyal and Dutiful Reſpect to the King, which becomes them, and is their Duty, as they are his Subjects; His Majeſty would then ſoon perceive, and eaſily be brought to believe, that he need not fear them; and with confidence I will preſume to ſay, The King is not in ſuch a Condition, as that his Subjects need to fear him, there being more Danger of a Common-Wealth, then of Abſolute Monarchy, where the People Set up for Reformers.

By this way of Proceedings, the King, (who is of a moſt Excellent Temper and Diſpoſition, ready to paſs by and forgive, whatever has been amiſs, ſo amendment be made for the future) would quickly be gained by his People; (and as he is our Sovereign, give me leave to ſay, He ought to be thus Treated.) Hereby the Kingdom may obtain reaſonable Laws, for their Security againſt all their preſent Fears and Jealouſies, and future Dangers,

Dangers, (ſo as ſuch Laws be purſued with becoming Humility and Duty, and without Heats and Paſſions,) however, if by this Method of Proceeding, the Parliament ſhould not arrive at thoſe, both reaſonable (and perhaps neceſſary) Laws, they ſo purſue, yet will they have Peace, and Satisfaction in their own Minds, remain quiet in their Conſciences, and be Juſtified before God and Man, for having done their Duty both to their King and Countrey.

On the other hand, deviſe what good Laws you can, for the Nations Security, though you ſhould get them paſt, yet if they be purſued in Parliament, with Heat, Violence, or any unhandſome, or unmannerly way of Proceeding; ſuch Procedure I am ſure cannot be Juſtified, either before God or Man, let the Pretences for ſo doing, be never ſo Specious; and give me leave to ſay, That the moſt Juſt and Reaſonable things in the World, may juſtly be Denyed, if demanded or purſued, in a Method that is Unjuſtifiable.

Nor does it become ſo Great and Venerable an Aſſembly, as the Parliament of *England*, when met together, to adviſe the making Laws for preſervation of the Nation in Peace and Tranquility, to be themſelves Froward, Reſtleſs or Pieviſh; wherefore I ſhall comfort my ſelf at preſent, with the hopes of ſeeing our next Parliament come together with all the Qualifications of Wiſdome, becoming the Greateſt and Freeſt Aſſembly in the Univerſe, and proceeding with Temper, Moderation and Prudence, (of which there never was more need than now) and if they ſo doe, I doubt not but that they may effect that Good they hope for, ſeem to deſire, and ought to purſue, for their Countrey, if they doe their Duty, and perform the Truſt repoſed in them.

So may they gain Glory to themſelves, and be Eternally Stiled, *The Happy and Healing Parliament*, and the Generations to come will have Cauſe to call them *Bleſſed*; for having healed our Deviſions, reconciled out Differences, made up our Breaches, United the King and his People, reſtored to us the Paths of Peace, and tranſmitted Happineſs to us and our Poſterities, and to the Generations that ſhall come after them.

FINIS.